

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

### COMMERCE OF ST. DOMINGO.

The following decree, together with the annexed list of vessels at Cape François, on the 24th of August last, will give the reader a tolerably correct notion of the present state of the commerce of St. Domingo.—The country to which the ships belong, and the nature of the cargoes, being specified, will be found very useful to the political economist.

### ST. DOMINGO.

Head-quarters at the Cape, Sept. 2.—In the name of the French government, the commander in chief, Captain General, decrees as follows:—Art. I. After the 1st of Vendémiaire, year 11, (Sept. 23, 1802), no other merchandize or articles of provision, except those specified in the annexed list, can be imported into the colony by foreign ships: none can be exported by the same ships, but molasses, syrup, spirits and rum, dye woods, and wood for cabinet-makers, guiacum, coffee, and provisions or merchandize of every kind, imported by the French merchants.—II. After the same period, the duties on the merchandize and provisions specified in the annexed list, imported into the colony by foreign ships, shall pay at the rate of 10 per cent. duty *ad valorem* in the colony, according to a tarif, which the colonial prefect shall settle every three months, from the medium prices of the preceding three months, in the open ports of the colony. The duties on colonial productions which, according to the permission granted by the first article, shall be exported in foreign vessels, shall pay, over and above, one half more than those exported in French ships, according to the tarif annexed to the decree of the 3d of Messidor last, (June 22). These productions shall pay, besides, the war tax, established by the decree of Messidor 25, (July 14). Productions and merchandize arising from the French commerce exported from the colony in foreign ships, shall pay no duties.—III. All merchandize and products not specified in the annexed list, imported by foreign vessels, are prohibited, reckoning from the 1st of Vendémiaire, year 11,

(Sept 23, 1802). The captains of foreign vessels, which arrive in the open ports of the colony before that period, shall be allowed to land their merchandize, on lodging a declaration at the custom-house. Those which arrive in the open ports of the colony after Vendémiaire 1st (Sept. 23) until 15th Brumaire next (Nov. 6) inclusive, shall be allowed to land the unprohibited goods they have on board. In regard to those prohibited, they shall lodge a declaration of them, and shall be bound to produce them on their departure, under the pain of their vessels being confiscated. After the 15th Brumaire (Nov. 6) vessels, whose cargoes are not entirely composed of non-prohibited merchandize and productions, shall not be admitted into the ports of the colony. Those not coming within the case of being admitted, which shall procure admission by false declarations, or which, after having been obliged to leave the said ports, shall be found effecting or trying to effect a fraudulent landing, shall be confiscated as well as the cargoes.—IV. Nothing in the present decree shall affect that of Messidor 5, which exempts from all duties, till the 30th of Frimaire, year 11, (Dec. 21, 1802) oxen and mules imported into the ports of the Cape, Port Républicain, des Cayes, and Jacmel. All the dispositions of decrees relating to commerce and the customs, not contrary to the present decree, are also maintained.—V. The colonial prefect is charged with carrying the present decree into execution.

Signed—*Leclerc.*

List of the merchandise and productions, the importation of which, by foreign ships, is permitted, on paying a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*, viz. beer, bricks, coals, cables, and cordage, train oil, spermaceti oil, pitch, tar, rosin, &c. essence of turpentine, oats, barley, maize-flour, rice, biscuit, salt beef, salt pork—hams, sausages, &c. are not comprehended under this denomination; salt butter, codfish, bacaga, &c. salted mackarel, dried herrings, pickled herrings, shads, codsounds, pickled mullets, stockfish, live cattle, horses, mules, asses, hogs, sheep, ducks, fowls, turkeys, geese, timber for building, &c.

*List of French and Foreign Ships, in the Road of the Cape, on the 24th of August, 1802, copied from the Register of the Custom-House.*

*French.*

L'America, from Bourdeaux,	sailed this day for Curaçoa.
L'Aim. Antoinette, do,	dry goods and provisions.
L'Apollon, Dunkirk,	do
L'Ami. Française, Havre,	do
L'Alerte, L'Orient,	do
L'Africain, Marseilles,	do
L'Alemande, Bourdeaux,	do
L'Alliance, Marseilles,	do
L'Anne, Dunkirk,	do
Marguerite Rosé, Bourdeaux,	do
Le Consolateur, L'Orient,	do
Les Deux Jumeaux, Bourdeaux,	do
L'Elinna, do	do
Hohenlinden, Brest,	do
L'Harmonie, Marseilles,	do
Le Jeune Lilly, do	do
La Josephine, do	do
Le Juste, Havre,	do
La Julie, Saint Malo	do
La Justine, Havre,	do
L'Iris, Marseilles,	do
Les Amis, Bourdeaux,	do
La Marianne, Brest,	do
La Maria Theresa, Nantes,	do
La Magdeleine, Saint Malo,	do
La Minerve, Bourdeaux,	do
La Maria Theresa, do	do
Le Neptune, Nantes,	do
La Ninette, Marseilles,	do
La Penelisse, Havre,	do
Le Prudent Felix, Marseilles,	do
La Poule, Bourdeaux,	do
La Rosalie, do	do
Le Succès, Brest,	do
Le Saint Pierre, Marseilles,	do
Les Six Amis, Bourdeaux,	do
Le Tancrede, Havre,	do
Le Tyrtée, Marseilles,	do
L'Union, L'Orient,	do
La Ville de Marseilles, Marseilles,	do
L'Amitié, do	do

*Foreign.*

Mercury, New York,	flour and dry goods.
Mechanic, Middletown,	sailed this day for Middletown.
Mary, Newbury Port,	sailed for Newbury Port.
Aurora, Charlestown,	ballast and passengers' trunks.
Elk, Baltimore,	planks, perfumery, flour, &c.
B. Holland, Philadelphia,	dry goods, flour, and wood.
May Flower, Savannah,	perfumery and timber.
Vigilant, Washington,	wood, planks, fish, &c.
Betsy, Newbern,	wood and perfumery.
Friendship, Savannah,	timber and perfumery.
Lydia, New York,	provisions and timber.
Eliza, do,	dry goods, provisions, and coals.
Talbot, Baltimore,	dry goods and iron ware.
Folly, Edgartown,	wood and salt provisions.
Sugy, New York,	gum guiacum.
Spartan, Baltimore,	dry goods and provisions.
Friendship, Philadelphia,	planks, flour, and candles.
Friendship, New York,	perfumery, &c.

Catherine, do,	earthen-ware, china, and meal.
Adventure, do,	staves and chairs.
Charlotte, Charlestown,	meal, tobacco, and pork.
Polly, Edentown,	perfumery and salt fish.
Atlantic, New York,	dry goods and flour.
James, Philadelphia,	timber, flour, nails, &c.
Tippoo Saib, Savannah,	timber, chairs, flour, &c.
Neptune, Portland,	timber, salt provisions, and butter.
Eliza Ann, New York,	salt provisions, engravings, and provisions.
Good Intent, Middletown,	dry goods and salt provisions.
Shepperdess, New York,	dry goods, meal, and wood.
Henry, Middletown,	planks, soap, and candles.
Harmony, Washington,	perfumery and flour.
Louisa, St. Thomas,	dry goods, nails, and herrings.
Sophia, Baltimore,	perfumery, herrings, and meal.
Reserve, New York,	wood, meal, and various provisions.
Alexandrine, St. Thomas,	dry goods.
Flora, Norfolk,	planks and provisions.
Mariner, Portland,	planks and provisions.
Sally, Washington,	staves, roots, and meal.
Elizabeth, Wilmington,	staves, flour, and herrings.
George, Philadelphia,	ready to sail for Fort Dauphin.
Fame, Boston,	staves and provisions.
Experiment, Edentown,	planks, perfumery, butter, and herrings.
Hope, New York,	planks, iron, and provisions.
Elizabeth, do,	flour, wine, and provisions.
Cornelia, Boston,	staves and provisions.
Hiram, Savannah,	dry goods and salt provisions.
Auroia, Swede from Bourdeaux,	ready to sail for Charlestown
Horizon, Newbern,	staves.
Lydia, Philadelphia,	meal, cheese, paper, &c.
Franklin, Boston,	dry goods, salted provisions, and wood.
Experiment, New York,	staves and dry goods.
Tartar, Philadelphia,	rum, soap, wine, shoes, &c.
Agenoria, Savannah,	staves, flour, and tobacco.
Lydia, Providence,	planks and various provisions.
Mary, Savannah,	planks and perfumery.
Diamond, New York,	staves and dry goods.
Lydia, Portland,	dry goods.
Potowmack, Baltimore,	flour and staves.
Hyram, Savannah,	staves, roots, &c.
Enuice, Boston,	dry goods, provisions, &c.
Peomingo, Baltimore,	wood and dry goods.
Colombia, Savannah,	staves, earthen and glass ware.
Constellation, Newbern,	staves and fish.
Fisher, Charlestown,	flour and salted provisions.
W. Wright, Norfolk,	dry goods and provisions.
Caroline, Savannah,	staves and tobacco.
Wim, Turkish Islands,	salt, nails, and perfumery.
Trial, Salem,	salt provisions, flour, tobacco, &c.
Kanty Bay, New York,	ready to sail for Port-au-Prince.
Angélique, St. Thomas,	dry goods.
Experiment, Middletown,	wood and biscuit.
Ethanallen, Baltimore,	herrings, nails, wood, and earthenware.
Maria, New York,	planks, perfumery, and chairs.

In all 115 vessels.  
Copied from the Register of the National Custom House at the Cape, this 24th of August, 1802.

*Gutty, Director of the Customs.*  
(A true copy) *Lecter, General in Chief.*

*St. Petersburg, Sept. 24.*—The great changes that were expected have now taken place. The whole administration of affairs has received as it were a new form; and the beneficial consequences of the new organization are so evident, that the joy of the public is universal. The place of Procurator-General, in which was concentrated the whole internal administration of the empire, is abolished; and every branch has its proper minister, who is responsible for all the acts of his department. By these means all business is much simplified, whereas before it was difficult to know to whom to apply. The senate is also regulated in another manner. The substance of the proclamation, concerning these changes, is as follows:—“All the affairs of the empire are divided into eight departments, which are filled by the following persons:—1. Minister of War—General of foot Waesmitinof, hitherto Vice-president of the Military College.—2. Marine Minister—Admiral Mordwinof, hitherto Vice-president of the Marine College.—3. Minister of Affairs—Count Alexander Woronzof, with the title of Chancellor.—4. Minister of Justice or Procurator, or Attorney-General—the present Privy Counsellor Dershawin.—5. Minister of the Interior—the present Privy Counsellor Count Kotschuby, hitherto first Member of the College for Foreign Affairs.—6. Minister of Commerce—the present Privy Counsellor Nicholas Rumantzof, who had the same title before.—7. Minister of Finance—the present Privy Counsellor Count Wasilof, hitherto Imperial Treasurer.—8. Minister for Public Education, and Popular Instruction—the Privy Counsellor Count Sawadofski, hitherto Chief of the Legislative Committee, and formerly Chief of the Normal Schools.—Many of these ministers have assistants appointed for them.—To Count Woronzof, the Privy Counsellor Prince Adam Czartorinski; to Count Kotschuby, the Privy Counsellor Count Paul Stroganof; to Count Wasilof, the Intendant Gurjet; to Count Sawadofski, the Privy Counsellor Muzawsef.”

Under the department of the Minister of Public Instruction, are placed the Academy of Sciences, the Russian Academy, all the universities and schools. Besides a Committee is formed to examine into the state of the schools in the whole empire, under the direction of Count Sawadofski, and consisting of the following members:—Prince Czartorinski, Count Severin Potocki, Major General Klinger, Major General Chitrof, and Messrs. Oseretzkofski and Fuss, Members of the Academy of Sciences.

*Lausanne, Oct. 8.*—On the evening of the 6th the following convention was concluded, and yesterday morning the ratifications were respectively exchanged at Montpreveyres.

*Convention for an Armistice concluded between the General of Brigade Wenderweld, charged with powers to that effect from the Helvetic Government, and Colonel Herrenschwand, authorised to the same effect by Baron Bachmann, the General in Chief of the Confederate Swiss Troops.*

Art. I. There shall be an armistice between the Helvetic troops and the Confederate Swiss troops; and if hostilities do recommence, it shall not be until twenty-four hours after the return of general Rapp to Lausanne.—II. The line of demarcation for the confederate troops shall proceed from Moudon, on the left by Thierrens, Prayers, Cronay, Neiden, Yvonend; on the right from Moudon, the line shall pass by Chavannes, Bieals, Sarsans, Lovotens, Dompierre, Vilard-Bramard, Sedeilles,

Chattonney, Vilard-Imboz, Toray, Legrand, Firax, Marnaud, Montogny, Norayaz, Pontaux, Grollay, Corbaz, Pensiers, Barbareche—from this point the line shall ascend the Sarine to Grandfey, and pass beyond the Uberville, Bueglen, and Martelach. It shall then proceed up to the Gerine, by Ergerbach, as far as its source, and shall afterwards follow the summit of the mountains of Planfayon, as far as the frontiers of Schwartzenburg, whence it shall turn towards Bellegarde, follow the chain of the Hahmatt which descends to Rougmont, and thence shall continue in direct line to the frontiers of the Valais.—III. The Helvetic troops shall not advance more than within a league of that line of demarcation.—IV. The suspension of arms must be general, and such, that the two armies shall each detach troops to reduce, if necessary, those who, on either side shall act against their chief.—V. If the town of Fribourg capitulated before the armistice of the 5th October came to the knowledge of general Auf-der-Maur, it shall be occupied by the Confederate troops.—VI. If general Bachmann approve this convention, the reciprocal ratification shall be exchanged at the farthest to-morrow at noon, and sooner if possible.—VII. Until then hostilities shall be suspended on both sides, agreeable to the convention of yesterday, between general Von-der-Weld and Colonel Herrenschwand—VIII. If any difficulties arise respecting the present Convention, Commissioners shall be appointed on each side to settle them.—*Done at the Head-Quarters at Lausanne, Oct. 8, 1802.*

This convention having been ratified by the general in chief of the Confederate troops, the printing and publication have been ordered by the Prefect of the Pays de Vaud.—The town of Fribourg surrendered yesterday to the Confederate troops. The battalion of militia quartered there was disarmed, and sent to the Pays de Vaud. It arrived yesterday at Lausanne. It is supposed there will be some discussion respecting the capitulation of the town, founded on the 5th article of the armistice.

*Oct. 9.*—Yesterday evening a report was suddenly sent abroad, that a column of the Confederate army was on its march against Ball and Vevy. There were consequently dispatched from hence immediately a few companies, who on that very night contrived to reach Vevy. We were apprised, however, this morning, that the whole was a false alarm, occasioned by the motions of a part of the insurgent army, which now occupy Fribourg, and who finding themselves in too great numbers to be lodged in that town, felt themselves under the necessity of procuring cantonments in the neighbouring communes.

The last letters received from Berne give room to hope that the Canton of Berne, as likewise the Cantons of Basle, Zurich, and Soleure, will accept the mediation of the First Consul. But it is much to be feared that the small Cantons will adopt the mad resolution of making an obstinate resistance; and it is therefore with the most anxious impatience that the answer of the Diet of Schwitz is hourly expected. The arrival of general Rapp at Berne produced the deepest sensation in that city:—the popular leaders seemed to be struck with consternation when they were made acquainted with the object of his mission. But what more particularly embarrasses them at the present moment is, how to devise means to keep themselves masters of their troops, and how to disband them without running

the risk of involving the same disorder that attended the disbanding of the Bernese army in 1798.—The following address was transmitted to the French minister:—*In the name of the greater part of the Communes of the Pays de Vaud.*—

The horrors of a civil war had reached their highest pitch: the blood of the Swiss was shed by the hands of the Swiss. The Pacifier of Europe was desirous that these calamities should cease; he cast an eye of benevolence upon the unfortunate Helvetia, and more particularly upon this canton: it is his wish that we should be happy; that we should be free. We shall be so! Be pleased, Citizen Minister, to accept the acknowledgments of the sincere gratitude of the municipalities of . . . . . and likewise those of the inhabitants of these communes.—The name of Buonaparté can only be pronounced with admiration and gratitude by our posterity, as it is now by ourselves.

(The signatures follow.)

According to a letter from Zurich, a body of from five to six thousand peasants have made themselves masters of that town, and abolished the provisional government therein established. This news requires confirmation. The town of Fribourg has also re-established itself upon the footing of its former constitution. The day before yesterday a council of 100 assembled together, and appointed, after the example of Berne, a committee of 10, wholly composed of the most zealous partisans of the ancient aristocracy.

*Oct. 10.*—Citizen Rapp, the Adjutant of the First Consul, is returned hither from Berne. He has concluded a new armistice of four days with the Bernese, during which they are to disband their troops. The Diet of Schwitz has dispatched a courier to Paris. It is expected that the Helvetic government will also disband without delay the militia of the canton of Vaud, in order to conform themselves to the proclamation of the First Consul.

*Basle, Oct. 9.*—The members of the Helvetic Diet assembled at Schwitz, have agreed on a plan of a constitution which they have addressed to all the cantons, and of which the following are the articles:—Art. I. Switzerland forms one Federal Republic, under the denomination of the Helvetic confederation.—II. It is divided into cantons.—III. Each canton to govern itself according to its own will, and to exercise in its own territory all the rights of sovereignty which it exercised under the ancient regime.—IV. The towns shall not enjoy any prerogative over the country, both one and the other to participate in the administration of justice, of the police, and in the internal government of the canton.—V. The government of one canton cannot publish ordinances prejudicial to another canton: those who break through this regulation to be denounced to the Diet.—VI. The government of each canton to name a deputy to the Helvetic Diet. The deputies remain in office until their constituents think proper to recall them. They are indemnified by the canton.—VII. The Diet is permanent, it deliberates on war and peace, and on the conclusion of such treaties of alliance and commerce as the general interest of the confederation may call for. It is authorised to repeal and annul the ordonnances of the cantonal governments, which are prejudicial to the Helvetic confederation, or to any of its cantons.—VIII. Every deputy, member of the Diet, is

obliged to conduct himself, upon the discussion of an important object, particularly of treaties of peace, commerce, and alliance, according to the instructions of his constituents.—IX. The Diet chooses, from among its members, a president and a secretary, who continue in their functions for three months and are always re-eligible.—X. The president of the Diet receives the envoys of foreign powers, and signs the deliberations of the Diet, which are counter-signed by the secretary. The protocol shall be signed by every member.—XI. The Diet appoints the Helvetic envoys to foreign powers, and recalls them.—XII. In case of a war, or threat of attack, the Diet settles the contingent of troops, and the amount of the sums which each canton is obliged to furnish. The arsenals of the cantons are at the disposal of the Diet. It appoints the generals, and removes them, as also the inspectors of the militia in time of peace. Each canton is obliged to exercise in arms and military evolutions, a contingent of the militia, which, however, is not to perform any effective service, in time of peace, and receives no pay.—XIII. All the Swiss are soldiers. None can exercise the rights of citizenship, nor be received into the corporations of artists and tradesmen, nor exercise a profession, nor marry, unless he has a musket, a sword, and a pouch. The government supplies the poor with arms. In extraordinary cases the cantonal government may order the disarming of the citizens. The expenses of war are charged upon all the cantons in proportion to their respective means.

A private letter states, that signals have been established from Lausanne, as far as Versoix, for the purpose of giving immediate notice to the French corps of 4000 men, stationed at Versoix, to enter Switzerland in case the Diet of Schwitz should refuse to obey the summons of the First Consul.—The 27th September was a day of great rejoicing at Schwitz, on account of the opening of the Diet. It was composed of Deputies from all the cantons, except Fribourg and Leman. Aloys Reding made a speech upon the occasion, and was appointed president.

*Oct. 9.*—*Extract of a Letter from Basle.*—The First Consul's aid de camp, Citizen Rapp, has passed through this city on his way to Paris, after having notified to the eighteen cantons the proclamation of the First Consul. It is reported that they were at first inclined, at Berne, to submit to the intervention of the First Consul, but that they afterwards changed their opinion, and that Citizen Rapp has received not a very satisfactory answer. We also learn, that those who distributed the proclamation of the Chief Consul in the Canton of Berne, have been looked upon in a very unfavourable manner by the new authorities, and that several individuals have been arrested upon this ground, and sent to the prisons of Arbourg. The Diet of Schwitz has addressed a proclamation to all the inhabitants of Switzerland, dated 30th September, of which the following are extracts.—“The moment is at length arrived when the Swiss nation can freely and openly express its will, with regard to the political constitution which it may think proper to give itself.” After speaking in terms of just reprobation of the government which has just been destroyed, it proceeds thus:—“The period is come, in which order and peace is to be restored. Those who dare to disturb either, shall

receive severe punishment. A few examples will undoubtedly be sufficient to open the eyes of those who still suffer themselves to be misled, and to deliver them for ever from the snares of their perfidious leaders. Even these last may be gained when they see, that far from wishing completely to re-establish the ancient order of things, however happy it might formerly have been, it is now destroyed—irrevocably destroyed. The most careful attention will be employed, as well in the establishment of the general constitution, as in the formation of particular institutions: and care will be taken neither to lose sight of the changes which have occurred in the nature of things, nor of the wishes which these changes may have given birth to. Every thing will be done that is consistent with reason to give general satisfaction. It is by such conduct that Switzerland can shew itself worthy of the benevolent intentions which were evinced towards her by two great neighbouring powers, who by the 11th article of the treaty of Luneville, stipulated that she should have the right of regulating her own constitution. That Divine Providence which has conducted us through so many storms to such a miraculous state of happiness, will also grant us its assistance in the accomplishment of this great work, and will lead us through those painful trials, to that happy and peaceful state, the influence of which was felt even beyond our ancient boundaries."

## DOMESTIC.

On Wednesday, the 20th inst. his Majesty held a Levee at St. James's.—The presentations were:—Earl Dartmouth, (sworn in Lord Steward of his Majesty's household), at the Levee for the first time, since his appointment; Lords Duncan, Sen. and Jun. were severally introduced by their father, Earl Besborough; the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Legge, Canon and Prebend of Windsor, from the Prebendary of Canterbury; his Excellency Charles Cameron, late Governor of the Island of Malta; Mr. Franco, accompanied the Earl of Winchelsea; Count Schach, Captain of the Royal Danish Life Guards (Horse), had the honour to be presented, by Mr. De Glyden Palm, the Danish Charge d'Affaires; and Captain Sotheron of his Majesty's Royal Navy.

After the Levee his Majesty held a Council of the Ministers, and then left town for Kew.

*Society of Ship-Owners of Great-Britain.*—On Thursday, the 30th of September last, a Special General Meeting of Ship-Owners was held, pursuant to public Advertisement, at the London Tavern, to take into consideration the draft of a Petition to Parliament, for the repeal of the Tonnage Duty, agreeably to the resolution of the general Meeting of the 22d of June last, and on other business of importance.—John Hill, Esq. was in the chair.

The Secretary, Nath. Atchison, Esq. reported, that he had, since the last general meeting, received several letters from the Ship-Owners at the out-ports, expressive of their determination to co-operate in the general design of the Society.—The Chairman said, that the Petition presented to the House of Commons last Sessions was to shew that the Ship-Owners did not accede to the principle of the tax. It had been intimated to obviate the arguments made use of when the tonnage duty was first proposed, that because the Ship-Owners had not resisted the Convoy Duty,

which the minister alleged was the same in principle, it therefore followed that the Ship-Owners ought not to object to the Tonnage Duty. The Chairman said, that he would not then trouble them with many observations on the subject which they had so amply discussed at the last general Meeting. It was undoubtedly stated by the Ship-Owners, that at the time the Tonnage Duty was brought forward, the shipping interest was in a depressed state. The Committee, to prove the truth of their allegations, had adopted one criterion, namely, the number of ships on sale at the particular period alluded to, when it was found, upon investigation, that there were about 160 for sale in the River Thames only; that a far greater number was unemployed, and in want of freights; and that those which were freighted were obliged to act on such terms as could not leave any profit to the owners. It was the business, he said, of the meeting, to consider whether the alteration favourable to the shipping of the country, which, they had been taught to expect, had taken place; or whether the shipping still continued in the same depressed state in which it appeared when they applied to the minister. He thought the Duty on Tonnage might be considered in two points of view—its justice and its policy. To make it just, it was necessary that the object of taxation was in such a state, as to bear the proportion assigned to it. With respect to its policy, it was worthy consideration, whether the shipping of this country, which had been uniformly the object of bounty and encouragement, should now be deemed an object of taxation—for it had been formerly the policy of the Legislature to give encouragement to British shipping; and the whole civilized world was sensible of its effect; he trusted no man felt it more strongly than the minister. He was equally sensible, that if the Ship-Owners could convince the minister of the injustice or impolicy of the tax, he would not hesitate one moment to promote its repeal. This meeting was therefore to consider how that desirable object was likely to be best effected. He was, however, confident, that they would receive from the minister that attention which the importance of the subject merited. He therefore thought it unnecessary for him to expatiate further on the subject.—The Secretary then read the draft of a petition to Parliament for the repeal of the duties on tonnage, and oil, and skins, the produce of the British fishery, which had been previously agreed to by the Committee, by which it appeared that those duties were extremely oppressive. That British shipping, from many causes independent of those duties, still laboured under very great depression, so that the most injurious consequences to the empire might be feared, if the duties on tonnage were continued to be imposed on British shipping. That the principle of these duties militated directly against the spirit of the acts which had been enacted by the Legislature of the country for the increase and encouragement of its shipping and navigation; and it was apprehended the inevitable consequences of the operation of the continuance of those duties would be the still farther depression of British shipping; and also tend to weaken the means of the maritime defence of the country, and accelerate the departure of multitudes of British seamen from their native land, and that at a time when the other maritime powers were most sedulously employed in adopting measures for the

increase of their shipping and navies, and also when the shipping of Great Britain had fallen in their value from 30 to 40l. per cent.—*Mr. Hurry* observed, that he conceived the arguments which had been made use of by the Committee at their interview with the minister were unanswerable; that the shipping interest was as much depressed at the present time as it was at that period; and as the tonnage duty was adopted as a tax of experiment, he trusted under those circumstances it would be abandoned. He therefore conceived it would be advisable to urge an interview with the minister.—*Mr. Akenhead* said, it was his intention to have noticed the subject; and he was of opinion it was proper to obtain an interview with Government, as a fair opportunity had been afforded of trying the expediency of the tax, which unfortunately proved to be very injurious to the Ship-Owners, of which he had proofs which were indubitable.—*Mr. Robinson* remarked, that from the assurances made when this subject was under discussion, he flattered himself the measure would be abandoned, as the shipping interest continued to be as much depressed as at that period.—*The Chairman* said, that the polite attention which the minister had shewn to the Committee on their former application, entitled him to every mark of respect. He therefore intimated the propriety of applying for another interview with him, previous to their making an application to parliament; and from the candour with which he received their observations, and from his great regard to the interest of the country, he had no doubt but he would give the subject every possible consideration.—The following resolutions were then entered into: *Resolved unanimously*, That the petition now produced and read be signed by the ship-owners present, and afterwards left at the bar of Lloyd's Coffee-house, for signatures, and that the same be presented to parliament early in the next session.—*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the committee to adopt such measures as may appear to them most likely to give effect to the intended application to parliament for the repeal of the tonnage duty, and that the resolutions of this meeting be transmitted to the ship-owners at the out-ports.—Afterwards a *serious discussion* took place, and several *resolutions* were entered into, expressive of the sentiments of the ship-owners, of the conduct which had been observed by the ship-builders in the termination of the recent differences between them and their men, and *strongly disapproving* of the principles which seem to have led to the conclusion of those disputes.

At a meeting of the committee of ship-owners, held at Will's Coffee-house on the 7th inst. the following resolutions, on this latter subject, were ordered to be published:—*Resolved*, That the ship-owners present at this meeting do highly disapprove of the manner in which the ship-builders have, for some time past, submitted to their workmen, who have lately committed acts of violence dangerous to the community, and destructive of those principles of subordination which ought always to be maintained between employers and their workmen; and they likewise observe, with very great regret, the manner in which the recent disputes between the ship-builders and their men have terminated by the masters treating with delegates from large bodies of their workmen, who, it appears, were combined together for illegal purposes.—*Resolved*, That the ship-owners present at this meeting do likewise disapprove the sentiments

expressed in a letter signed T. Noakes, who is secretary to the committee of ship-builders, and was published in the Public Ledger, wherein it is stated “that the ship-builders, in justice to the ship-owners, had placed themselves in the situation of mediators between the two interested parties,” that is, their workmen and the ship-owners, who think it necessary to declare, that they conceive it to be the indispensable duty of the ship-builders to keep their men in due subordination; to prevent illegal combinations amongst them, and to exercise the right of employing and discharging such men as they may think proper, and that the ship-builders ought to prosecute, with the utmost rigour of the law, such of their men who may endeavour by threats, or acts of violence, to deter others from working and performing their duty who are so disposed; and in case the existing laws are inadequate to check in their origin such outrages, or to suppress them in their progress, the ship-builders owe it to the public, and it is a duty incumbent upon them to apply to the Legislature to remedy such serious and growing evils.

#### FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

*Vienna*, Sept. 22.—Her Royal Highness the Grand Duchess of Tuscany died here on Sunday last, the 19th inst.

*Whitehall*, Oct. 19.—The King has been pleased to present the Reverend Andrew Melville, Clerk, to the Church and Parish of Logie, in the Presbytery of Cupar and County of Fife, void by the death of Mr. Robert Bogie, late Minister there.

#### BANKRUPTS.

*Brotherton*, John, Manchester, grocer.—*Brome*, William, Melford, Suffolk, stay-maker.—*Heatley*, Andrew, Bishopsgate-street, broker.—*Davis*, Henry, Portsea, merchant.—*Lawrence*, James, Eltham, Kent, baker.—*Puckett*, John, Weymouth, merchant.—*Isdell*, Nicholas, Hambledon, Southampton, surgeon and apothecary.—*Robinson*, Samuel, Sheffield, scissor-smith.—*Loggin*, William, and *Slater*, Robert, Newgate-street, linen-drapers.—*Taylor*, John, Manchester, merchant.

#### MARRIAGES AND DEATHS.

*Marriages*.—The Rev. Mr. Moore, Rector of Sowden, Devon, to Miss Donnithorne, of St. Agnes, Cornwall.—Captain Poyntz, of the Royal Navy, to Miss F. Brace, of Hambledon.—On the 31st of August, at Windsor, in Nova Scotia, by the Bishop, the Rev. John Inglis, his only son, to Miss Cochran.—On Thursday, at Dudley, the Rev. Robert Crockett, to Miss Maria Hawke.

*Deaths*.—On Thursday, in Upper Brook Street, Col. Gilbert Ironside, late of the East-India Company's service in Bengal.—On the 6th ult. at Paris, Col. Alex. Malcolm, late of the 7th Reg.—Lately, in the Island of Jamaica, Richard Chadwick, Esq. of the 85th Reg.—On Saturday, the Rev. R. Sumner, Vicar of Kenilworth and Stoneleigh, in Warwickshire.—On the 30th ult. at his seat at Dalquin, in the County of Galway, the Right Hon. John Birmingham, Lord Baron Athenry, premier Baron of Ireland.—On Tuesday, at Canterbury, Lieut. Wm. Fraser, of the 1st Reg. of Life Guards.—On Tuesday, at Bath, Major Brooke.—At Bombay, the 10th December last, Lieut. Thos. Poolé, 1st Bat. 1st Reg. Nat. Infantry.—At Bath, aged 74, Granado Pigott, Esq. of Abington Pigott, in the County of Cambridge.

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STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock.	181 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 pr. C.R. An.	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	66 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 per C. Con.	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	68	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 pr. C. Cons.	84	—	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	84	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100
Bank L. Ann.	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	—
D <sup>o</sup> s. 1778 & 9	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—	—	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
5 per Cr. 1797	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$
Omnium ... 10 dis	—	—	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ di	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ di	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ di

## LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.P. 11 2	2 us.	LEGHORN .....	51 $\frac{1}{2}$
D <sup>o</sup> , at sight	11	NAPLES.....	48 $\frac{1}{2}$
ROTTERDAM 11 3	2 us.	GENOA .....	47 $\frac{1}{2}$
HAMBURGH 83 4	2 us.	VENICE, livrespiccole	
ALTONA.... 33 5	2 us.	effective per £. ster.	
PARIS 1 day 23 15		LISBON.....	68
PARIS..... 24	2 us.	OPORTO .....	67
BOURDEAUX, 24 3		DUBLIN.....	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
CADIZ ... 36 $\frac{1}{4}$	eff.	BILBOA.....	36 $\frac{1}{4}$ D <sup>o</sup>
MADRID .. 36 $\frac{1}{2}$	effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.	

## PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q. 48s to 63s	Hops per cwt. 120s to 273s
Rye. ....	30 .. 34
Barley. ....	23 .. 25
Malt.....	42 .. 44
Oats .....	14 .. 22
Pease (white)....	43 .. 47
Beans (horse)....	32 .. 35
Flour per sack ..	50 .. 54
Seconds.....	43 .. 50
Coals per chal....	43 .. 50

Hay per load.... 80 .. 147

Beef, per stone 4s. to 5s.

Mutton 5s. od. to 6s. od.

Veal .... 4s. od. to 6s. od.

Pork.... 5s. od. to 6s. od.

Tallow .....

Av. of Sugar pr cw 34s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d

Salt, per Bushel 13s. 10d.

Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.

Days. Message	Weather, near Guildford.	Winds.		Barom.		Inch.		Ther. Deg.	
		M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.
14	Frost Fine	NE		30,25		50			
15	Frost Fine	NE	NE	30,2	30,18	46	57		
16	Frost Fine	NE	NE	29,95	29,93	46	56		
17	Frost Fine	NE	W	29,65	29,62	37	51		
18	Showery.	W	SW	29,53	29,52	50	57		
19	Rain.	SW	SW	29,42	29,31	50	60		
20	Fine.	WSW	W	29,48	29,63	47	54		

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,  
His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

MR. LORD,—It was on the 14th of October, 1801, a year ago this very day, that I commenced, with your lordship, that correspondence, which, with some trifling intermissions, has continued to the present hour. At that time, my lord, you, as "the happy instrument in obtaining the blessings of peace," were the object of the praises of that same base and stupid rabble, and of those dastardly myrmidons from the General Post-office, who insulted me and my family, and who demolished my dwelling, because I refused to join in their hired and infamous exultations. Relying on the baseness of the nation for support, certain that the acclamations of ignorance, selfishness, and disaffection, would drown the voice of sense, honour, and loyalty, you, your colleagues, and your advisers, then cast a supercilious sneer on the efforts of all those, who had the honesty and resolu-

tion to oppose the measure on which you confidently depended for the preservation of your power and of the emoluments connected therewith. Under such circumstances, in the hey-day of your diplomatic career, in the midst of your golden dreams, it would have been absurd for me to hope to obtain a hearing from your lordship, and much more so to make any, even the slightest, impression upon your mind; now, however, for reasons too obvious to mention, I think, I may entertain such a hope; and, in this persuasion, I, with more than common alacrity, resume the pen for the purpose of communicating to your lordship my sentiments on the present awful situation of our public affairs.

Ever since the signature of that treaty, to prepare the public mind for the dangerous consequences of which has been my constant endeavour, the political writers and the public prints under the immediate influence of your lordship and your colleagues have insisted, that peace had, contrary to the expectations and to the predictions of its opposers, proved to be a wise and fortunate measure, that its benignant effects were visible in every department of the state, that its blessings would continue to increase as the goddess expanded her golden pinions, and that the nation had "good reason to expect a long succession of years, undisturbed and unoppressed by the clangour and the expenses of war;" but now, these writers have, all at once, abandoned their pacific system, and are become the advocates of energy; they talk of resistance, and even venture to pronounce the tremendous monosyllable war. I may well say *all at once*, for the opposite side of the page of the True Briton, which communicated to us your first acknowledgement of the hostile and dangerous designs of the Chief Consul, the opposite side of that very identical piece of paper, contained (under the title of *View of Public Affairs*) a strong reprobation, mixed up with *quantum sufficit* of malignity and abuse, on all the noblemen and gentlemen who had imputed to him such designs, and who had insisted, that, from the restless ambition of his co-operators as well as himself, the duration of peace must be very short, or must be lengthened out by such further sacrifices as would inevitably produce the entire, and almost immediate, subjugation of this country. The cause of this sudden and astonishing change, is, it is pretended, *the recent declaration of Buonaparte to the Swiss, and his evident intentions with respect to that people and their country*. This pretext may, probably, be sufficient to satisfy the supple followers of any and of every administration, the blind

approvers of every measure, the paltry time-serving politicians of the day: me, my lord, it does not satisfy. It is a deception, a low trick to disguise the real grounds of dispute, and to shelter the makers of the peace from the censure which must fall on them when those grounds are known. My object is to strip off this disguise; to show, 1. That, if the interference of Buonaparté in the affairs of Switzerland be, in any case, an adequate cause of war, yet, seeing what has passed, it is grossly inconsistent and absurd for this country to make war on him on that account; 2. That the independence of Switzerland is a mere pretext, and that other dangers, greater and more pressing, are the real cause of the present hostile language and attitude; 3. That these dangers have arisen out of the peace, that they were foreseen and foretold by those who opposed the peace, who were contradicted by the ministers, and who were censured, ridiculed, and abused by their ignorant and servile partisans; 4. That any remonstrance to France, in behalf of the Swiss, on the part of this country, will be totally disregarded, or will produce nothing more than a suspension of the evil, or will re-kind the flames of war, and that, in either case, the fatal consequences of the peace will be equally conspicuous.

1. The alleged grounds of the present misunderstanding with Buonaparté have been thus stated, in the ministerial papers. "The cause of Switzerland is a common one with every power that is not a voluntary slave to the influence of France; and a resistance to the system at present pursued by Buonaparté becomes a duty with the rulers of every free country." The jealousy and apprehension of this nation are, we are told, justly excited by "the unwarrantable conduct of Buonaparté towards the people of Switzerland—a people interesting to every British heart, from the simplicity of their manners, the independance of their principles, the rectitude of their conduct during the war—the injuries they have sustained—and, above all, from the new tyranny with which they are threatened." —If, "says the writer," "we feel thus interested for them as men—as Englishmen—as friends to our country, are there not still bigger considerations which call upon us to interfere for the preservation of their independance?" —The Swiss being "a people interesting to every British heart," the "simplicity of their manners," the "independance of their principles," the "rectitude of their conduct during the war," and the

"injuries they have sustained," are points which I shall, probably, touch upon hereafter, but which, important as they are, are certainly less so than that "new tyranny, " *with which the Swiss are threatened.* To prevent this new tyranny from taking place, and to preserve the independence of Switzerland, by resisting the interference of the First Consul in the internal affairs of that country, are, then, the alleged grounds of our present misunderstanding with him, and of the rupture, which may possibly take place between us. But, my lord, let us examine the practice of his Majesty's government, since its affairs have been conducted by your lordship and your colleagues, and see whether it does not forbid the world to repose too implicit a confidence in your present professions.

You concluded, my lord, the preliminary treaty with France, leaving Holland, which you affected to regard as independant, under the rule of a government created by France and under the bayonets of a French army, part of which still remains in that country; the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics, and also the farcical kingdom of Etruria, you left in the same state of vassalage, which vassalage you ratified and confirmed by the silence observed, with respect to the government of these countries, in the treaty of Amiens. With respect to the Cisalpine republic, indeed, the interference of France was still more glaring, and was attended with circumstances peculiarly aggravating. Buonaparté sent for certain persons of that country to Lyons, where he new-named the republic and formed for it an entire new government, of which he put himself at the head, having under him a vice-president, who is to do no act of government without his orders, thus rendering the country neither more nor less than a colony of France; and this was done, too, during the negotiations of the definitive treaty, to the conclusion of which it proved to be no obstacle. But, to come still closer to the point, was not Switzerland, the country for the independance of which we are now to risk a war, was not this very Switzerland herself, left, by the treaty of Amiens, not only under a government imposed upon her by France, but under the very same government, which, the people having cashiered it, Buonaparté is about to re-instate? For me, my lord, or for any of the oposers of the peace, to condemn the proceedings of the Consul with respect to Switzerland, would be both just and consistent; we might with propriety ask him

what right he has to interfere in the internal concerns of an independent country, with a view "to prescribe to the people " the form of government which he chooses " they should live under." But, I should be glad to know, with what face your lordship and your colleagues can remonstrate with him, and, if he despises your interposition, with what face you can call upon the people of England to forego the, as yet, but half-tasted "blessings of peace and plenty," and to encounter the "hardships and horrors of " war," merely for the purpose of preventing the restoration of a government, which you not only left in existence, supported by French troops, but the lawfulness of which you tacitly acknowledged by a treaty, the ink of which is hardly yet dry!

Would to God, that, for the honour of England, you had only tacitly sanctioned that principle of interference, which you, at last, find it necessary to oppose! But, my lord, 'till the preliminary and definitive treaties between England and the republic of France are annulled, 'till we have restored Ceylon to the Dutch and Trinidad to Spain, and have repealed our "statutes" for the government of Malta, we may profess to abhor, we may cry out against, this abominable principle, but we must excuse the world if they compare our railing to that of sister *Jeanne à la grille*, and tell us, that when they, too, are satiated with sin, they will join us in the work of repentance.

The nations of Europe remember, and will long remember, the ministerial boastings with respect to the islands, which we received from France, belonging to Holland and Spain. That act, that clever trick, which was so much applauded by the parliamentary wise-acres, by that numerous crowd of "well-meaning men," who so ably and so boldly cried *aye* for the peace, and who are so passionately fond of "safe politicians" like your lordship; that act, like a guilty conscience, will stare us in the face at every step we take, will unstring our nerves in every enterprize, for asserting the independance of any country, not excepting our own. "Though" said the Editor of the Anti-Jacobin Review, (Vol. X. p. 221,) "Though, in the very face of " the preliminary treaty, we find, that it is " exclusively a treaty between Great-Britain " and France; yet, by one of its articles, " does France take upon herself to give " away, and does Great-Britain condescend " to accept from her hands, two posses- " sions belonging to free and independant " powers, who were not parties to the

agreement: Ceylon, the property of the Dutch, Trinidad the property of Spain. " But, could it possibly have escaped the attention of Lord Hawkesbury, that, by this very act, he gave a complete sanction to that jacobinical principle, on which the gigantic usurpations of the regicide republic of France have been founded; " that he admitted her right not only to prescribe laws to her allies, but to dispose of their territories, at her pleasure? " — *A right, which, possibly, this nation may, ere long, be called upon to dispute*; but, " with what confidence or with what effect, after such an admission, our readers will easily conceive! In short, there required no other proof, than this one act, " of the perfect incapacity of his lordship " to fulfil the important duties of his high " station." The concluding inference, my lord, however unwilling I may be to insist on its justice, certainly derives considerable support from the sound reasoning and political sagacity displayed by this writer, who, in the month of October, 1801, while his brother reviewers, some from ignorance and others from servility, were joining in the exultations of the peace-loving rabble, had the wisdom to foresee, and the honesty and courage to foretell, that the article of the treaty, of which I am here speaking, would be productive of precisely that evil which it has already produced.\*

There are two ways, in which France interferes with other states, one by seizing on part, or the whole, of their territory, the other, by dictating to them a form and mode of government, in both of which we have participated; in the former, though we did not absolutely lay violent hands on Ceylon and Trinidad, yet, upon the old maxim, that the receiver is as bad as the thief, we have our full share of the guilt belonging to the transaction; and, in the latter, we are equally culpable with France with respect to Malta, unless the world, justly regarding us, in this instance, as the involuntary tools of France, should pardon our crime in compassion of our ignorance and cowardice. A hopeful alternative, my lord! But, be your lordship assured, that the world will not show even this compassion towards us, and that, on the contrary, we alone shall be charged with the destruction of the antient government and order of Malta. By lending the name of England to this shameful act

\* The same sentiment was also stated by several members of parliament. See, besides, Cobbett's Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace, p. 153.

of interference, to this flagrant violation of the first great principle of public law; by making her give so unequivocal a sanction to the insolent, the unbearable assumption of a right to alter the governments of independent states, you fully and formally confirmed that doctrine, which the republicans of France invented for the purpose of invading the liberties of mankind, and for the still more nefarious purpose of destroying the principles of morality and religion. In justifying the late war, how many hundred times did your lordship and your present colleagues refer to the famous revolutionary decree of the 19th of November, 1792! But that decree, insolent as it was, was not so insolent as that part of the definitive treaty, which relates to the forming of "statutes" for Malta. That decree very kindly informed the people of every state, that, if they wished to change their form of government, France was ready to assist them. But, with respect to Malta, no questions were asked; a new government was imposed, without the least reference to the wishes of either the governing or the governed. And thus did Great-Britain end a war, which she began for the purpose of resisting this audacious and disorganizing doctrine, not only by acceding to that doctrine, but by acting on it to an extent far beyond that, in which it was attempted to be enforced against herself!\*

Is it for us, then, my lord, to rail against Buonaparté for interfering in the affairs of independent nations? Is it for your lordship and your colleagues to call on us to resume our arms for the purpose of checking such interference?

2. The truth is, my lord, that the preservation of the independence of Switzerland is, on the part of you and your colleagues, a mere pretext. For, allowing that you have repented of your great political sin, that you have "asked pardon of God and man" for your own acts of interference in the internal concerns of other independent nations, that you now, by way of atonement, interpose against your former associate, that you not only turn king's evidence, but thief-takers into the bargain; allowing all this, and adding thereto the consideration, that you interpose to check not only this single instance of encroachment in Buonaparté, by the whole system,

\* This was strongly urged, in both Houses of Parliament, during the debates on the treaty, by several noblemen and gentlemen, particularly by Lord Folkestone, who anticipated the very dilemma, in which we are now placed.

which, if not checked, must finally embrace this country too; yet, I should be glad to know what has occurred in the affairs of Europe to render the independence of Switzerland of so much more importance to us than the independence of any other of the countries, in whose internal concerns Buonaparté has interfered since the conclusion of the preliminary treaty. The independence of Switzerland is certainly of importance to England; but it is not of importance to her merely on account of the "simplicity of the manners and the independence of the principles of the Swiss, much less on account of the rectitude of their conduct during the war" (of which the less is said, at this time, the better): these are considerations, which, admitting the facts to be true, might have weight in deciding the opinion of the philosopher or the moralist; but we must look for other and far different considerations, on which to justify a war; and, will your lordship pretend to say, that either the interest, the honour, or the safety of this country, is essentially connected with the independence of Switzerland? Will you pretend to say, that the interference of Buonaparté in the domestic affairs of that country is more dangerous to us than his creating and governing the king and kingdom of Etruria, than his presidentship of the Italian Republic, than his incorporation of Piedmont, than his new distribution of the titles, the dignities, the power, and the dominions, of the kings, the electors, and princes of Germany? Will you, my lord, with the map of Europe and the Custom-house returns open before you, attempt to persuade the people, that Switzerland, of all the whole Continent, is the only spot, on which France may not seize without endangering the interest and the safety of England?

This is an attempt, however, in which I will not say, that you would not obtain a momentary success; but, like the "experience" of peace, it would soon fail you, and would compel you to have recourse to other shifts more analogous to "existing circumstances." The "simplicity of manners, the independence of principle, and the rectitude of conduct," which are so "interesting to the heart of every Englishman," would all be forgotten before the end of the first campaign; "peace and a large loaf," would be rung in your ears by the very same mob, on whose clamours you depended for stifling the voice of those, who had honesty and honour enough to oppose the measure, which has produced your

present embarrassment. Besides, my lord, are you not aware, that Buonaparté can, at any moment, deprive you of all the support, which may, in any case, be expected from this popular affection for the Swiss? His proclamation, though insufferably domineering and insolent, though tyrannical as to its means, is very loose and equivocal as to its end. He does not say, that he will incorporate Switzerland with France; he does not say he will make it obey a government of his framing; he does not even say, that he will insist upon the re-instalment of his creatures, whom the people have just turned out. He can, therefore, without any relaxation of authority, without any derogation from his dignity, without any risk of losing the smallest portion of the terror in which he holds the intimidated world, make such an arrangement with Switzerland, as will, at once, leave him, in fact, the master of that country, deprive you of your pretext for hostility, and disarm all the popular resentment, which you may, during the existence of that pretext, be able to excite.

The *real grounds* of your present hostile language and attitude will, my lord, if I am not much mistaken, prove to be very different indeed from the interference of Buonaparté in the affairs of Switzerland. The "experiment" of peace has completely failed; your lordship and your colleagues have been baffled in all your expectations; a diminution has already been felt, and a greater is anticipated, in the commercial products of the country; France has persevered in her ambitious views, and her projects have, from day to day, become more and more alarming; she has made more conquests in six months of peace than in ten years of war; Germany and the Mediterranean now tremble at her nod; Buonaparté, like the destroying angel, has placed one foot upon the land and the other foot upon the sea, and on this country he has resolved to pour the first vial of his wrath. No offerings, no sacrifices, no intreaties, no acts of humility, of submission, or of prostration, nothing but successful resistance to his dreadful power (which has been doubled by the peace) can save us from political perdition. Not content with shutting us out from the ports of Europe, with enveloping us by his conquests and usurpations, with sapping the foundations of our government by all sorts of intrigue; not content to wait for the comparatively slow, though certain, operation of these means, he has, if I am not much mistaken, already interfered in our own internal affairs, and signified his resolu-

tion to *dictate laws* to us, in more than one instance, and particularly relative to the *liberty of the press*!

These, my lord, are the *real grounds* of your present hostile array, and grounds they are quite sufficient to have roused you long enough ago; but, the same motives, which led you and your colleagues to conclude the preliminary treaty, together with the reluctance which weak men always have to confess their errors, have restrained you from making the slightest resistance to the will of Buonaparté; and, it is well known, that your present fit of vigour has arisen from the *personal determination of his Majesty to admit of no further sacrifices of the honour and interests of his people*. This truly royal and paternal determination led you to catch the first occasion that presented itself to make a pretence of discovering a *new hostile and ambitious mind* in the First Consul; as if such a mind were more visible in him *now* than at any time subsequent to the signature of the preliminaries; as if it were more visible *now*, than when he proclaimed himself sovereign of Italy, or when he issued his mandate to the German empire!

3. I shall now, my lord, endeavour to show, that the difficulties and dangers, which you and your colleagues have at last discovered, were *foreseen and foretold* by those who opposed the peace, who were contradicted by the ministers, and who were censured, ridiculed, and abused, by the ignorant and servile partizans of those ministers.

My lord, were I to take all the passages, in the debates on the treaty of peace, which express, either directly or indirectly, the opinion of the ministers, *that little or no danger was in future to be apprehended from the ambitious hostility of the First Consul*, I should fill a small volume: a few extracts will suffice. During the debate of May 8, on Mr. Nichols's motion for a vote of censure on Mr. Pitt, Lord Belgrave made a speech, from which I cannot refrain from making one short extract, not inapplicable to the present subject:—

"The great struggle for our security, the main shock of the French revolution had been successfully resisted, when the late ministry retired from office. Comparing then the present period, with that of the end of the year 1792, let me ask the House, whether they do not feel themselves a little more secure now, than they did at that time? Whether they do not feel themselves very much in the situation of mariners who have just escaped the dangers of the most tremendous storm they had ever encountered, and who look back upon the

" scarce subsiding waves with emotions of calm  
" delight, and unspeakable satisfaction? Every  
" man, not lost to all virtuous and honour-  
" able feeling, or whose intellects are not  
" unusually benumbed, must have felt at  
" the end of the year 1792, and at other  
" periods of the war, no common anxiety  
" for the fate of his king and country,  
" his family, his friends, and his own  
" safety. Now turn your eyes on your  
" present situation, on the vessel of the state  
" having now weathered the storm, and  
" riding in triumph and security in her na-  
" tive port."—I am afraid, my lord, that  
the emotions of calm delight and unspeak-  
able satisfaction, which his lordship here so  
elegantly describes, have been, for some  
time at least, strangers to the breasts of you  
and your colleagues, who, if you have a  
proper notion of your situation, must regard  
yourselves as being in a crazy vessel, and  
upon the eve of a furious tempest.—*Lord  
Castlereagh* is next upon my list of authori-  
ties:—"We have," (said his lordship, in the  
last debate on the Definitive Treaty), "We  
" have in some points failed, but upon the  
" whole we have attained the security for  
" which we have contended; for whether  
" we contended for the abolition of French  
" principles, which menaced our safety, as  
" well as that of Europe, or whether to de-  
" ter the enemy from venturing to attack us  
" at home or abroad, we have so far suc-  
" ceeded as to maintain our safety, and to  
" combat with success that malignant spirit  
" of the French nation, which professed to  
" content itself with nothing less than the  
" utter destruction of this country. Does  
" the government of France now hold such  
" language? Does it now, or of late, talk  
" of planting its banners on the tower of  
" London, or triumphantly waving its vic-  
" torious flag on the river Thames? No, for  
" it now speaks of this country as a land of  
" liberty, and looks up to it as a model  
" worthy of imitation, and respects it as the  
" French people were wont to do under the  
" old government.—What danger, I ask,  
" does there now exist of the prevalence of  
" French principles in this country, which  
" obtained for a time so many dupes and  
" proselytes? So long as France main-  
" tained its inveterate malignity to this country,  
" no security was to be relied on; the first  
" step, therefore, to our security was a  
" change of sentiment and principle in the  
" government of France, and therefore by  
" resisting the French principle which has  
" pervaded the progress of the revolution,  
" our security has grown out of the circumstances

" of the war, and, in my conviction, so far  
" are we at this day from being in any danger  
" from the designs of France, never did we en-  
" joy, at any period of our history, a more per-  
" fect state of security. With respect to the  
" territorial acquisitions of France on the  
" continent of Europe and in America, I  
" am free to acknowledge, they are not  
" circumstances of satisfactory reflection.  
" But, with respect to the aggrandizement  
" of France, from this circumstance, at any  
" early period I have no apprehensions what-  
" ever. For if France shall chuse to aban-  
" don her internal interests, for purposes of  
" colonial aggrandizement; if she chuses to  
" divert from the revival of her ruined  
" trade, manufactures, and agriculture at  
" home, the only means in her possession,  
" she may prosecute schemes of spreading  
" conquest and barbarism in Europe for  
" some time, but must cease to be a rival  
" from which this country has any thing to fear,  
" in any point of view commercial or politi-  
" cal; but cannot fail to weaken and speedily  
" ruin herself. But, admitting the possibility  
" that a future period may arrive, too distant  
" for me to calculate, or for this House now  
" to reason upon or calculate, when France  
" may be induced to attempt such projects,  
" I trust, at this moment, no such apprehen-  
" sions are to be feared, as, were such a  
" suspicion in my mind justifiable, I should  
" think twice before I would agree to a con-  
" clusion of peace."

Now, my lord, I beg leave to remind you of what your lordship said on this subject of security from the *tranquil disposition* of France. The extract is taken from your speech of the 8th of May, in reply to Mr. Grey, who had, in my opinion, undeniably proved, that the government of Buonaparté was not less jacobinical, either in principle or in practice, than that of Robespierre.—“ I am asked,” (said your lordship), “ whether the ground of argument, on Jacobin principles, does not now exist in the same force and degree against the government of France, as it did when this country first opposed it on that account? To which I will answer, that Jacobin principles not only do not exist in the same force and degree; but, *they do not exist at all*. The hon. gentleman has asked, if Jacobin principles did not give birth to the present government of France? That is not the mode of considering the question; it is not material to consider what gave birth to the present government—the question is to us, *what are its principles now?* And in that respect, there has been a complete

" change in the government of France. The present government of France has published to the world a recantation of every principle of Jacobinism, and of every other principle from which danger was apprehended, in a manner as satisfactory as the most sanguine friend of the war, or the most decided enemy of Jacobin principles, can desire. However I may regret the fate of the House of Bourbon, without considering whether that House was likely to be restored or not in the course of the war, yet if it had been for nothing more than a restoration of that House, the contest would not have been carried on ; but the contest here was owing to the entire change of principles upon which the government had been carried on ; all principles of established governments had been overturned, and it would have been at any time sufficient ground for other countries to adopt measures for the resistance of such principles, as being utterly hostile to all government whatever, they being in their nature calculated to overturn all constituted authorities. I may be asked, however, what I think of the recantation which has been made of those principles, and whether I think they give evidence of a recurrence to ancient principles ? To which I answer, I am aware that whatever may be the desire of persons in France, after such a conclusion, it will be impossible for them to set up an establishment upon the best of models, for they must take their materials as they find them. In the mean time full credit is due to their profession, as far as it regards foreign powers, for they have publicly asked pardon of God and Man, and done every thing they can to revert to the ancient established principles of government, and their measures, in every point I have been able to view them, have that tendency. It is an important consideration with reference to this peace, how far it would be prudent in this country, by a continuation of the war, to drive them again to revolutionary measures, where they must abandon the system of justice, moderation, and peace, which they have now."

This was your lordship's curious set of opinions respecting the character and views of the government, with which you had been treating, and in whose capital you had had diplomatic agents for upwards of twelve months! Let us now hear your right worthy colleague Mr. ADDINGTON,—"I know no-  
"thing" (said that shrewd and disinterested statesman) "in the circumstances of the

“ present time—I know of nothing in the  
“ disposition of the government of France,  
“ nor in the disposition of the person at  
“ the head of the government of France,  
“ that warrants any apprehension, the peace  
“ now concluded may not last as long as any  
“ peace, which this country ever made at any  
“ period of her history.”

Such, my lord, were the opinions of the solid, steady, cautious, "safe politicians," in opposition to which I could now quote those of *every* nobleman and gentleman, who spoke against the peace, but, for want of time as well as room, I must content myself with an extract from the speech of Mr. Windham, delivered on the 4th of November, *before* the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and even before we had heard of the affair of Elba or of the Italian republic.—" Notwithstanding (said he) some " lofty talk which we heard of dignity and " firmness, and which I shall be glad to see " realized, and a happy quotation, expressive of the same sentiments, from my " honourable friend not now present (Mr. " Pitt,) the real amount of what was said, " seems to be little more than this:—that " France has, to be sure, the *power* of destroying us, but that we hope she will " not have the *inclination*;—that we are " under the paw of the lion, but that he " may happen not to be hungry, and, instead of making a meal of us, may turn " round in his den, and go to sleep. (p. 2.)

“ Here it is then, that I must advert again  
“ to that topick of consolation, (miserable  
“ indeed must our state be, when such are  
“ our topicks of consolation,) to which,  
“ in order to make out a case not perfectly  
“ hopeless, we are willing to have recourse  
“ and which, more I believe than any reli-  
“ ance upon our wealth, does really sup-  
“ port us, in the situation to which we are  
“ reduced. This is the idea, that from  
“ some cause or other, from some combi-  
“ nation of passions and events,—such as  
“ no philosophy can explain, and no history  
“ probably furnish an example of,—the  
“ progress of the revolution will stop where  
“ it is: and that Buonaparté, like another  
“ Pyrrhus,—or rather like that adviser of  
“ Pyrrhus, whose advice was not taken,—  
“ instead of proceeding to the conquest of  
“ new worlds, will be willing to sit down  
“ contented in the enjoyment of those  
“ which he has already.—Sir, the great ob-  
“ jection to this hope, to say nothing of its  
“ baseness, is its utter extravagance. On  
“ what possible ground do we believe this?

" Is it in the general nature of ambition ?  
 " Is it in the nature of French revolutionary ambition ? Does it happen commonly to those, whether nations or individuals, who are seized with the spirit of aggrandizement and acquisition, that they are inclined rather to count what they possess, than to look forward to what yet remains to be acquired ? If we examine the French revolution, and trace it correctly to its causes, we shall find that the scheme of universal empire was, from the beginning, that which was looked to as the real consummation of its labours ; the object first in view, though last to be accomplished ; the *primum mobile* that originally set it in motion, and has since guided and governed all its movements.

" —The authors of the revolution wished to destroy morality and religion. They wished those things as ends : but they wished them also, as means, to a higher and more extensive design. They wished for a double empire ; an empire of opinion and an empire of political power : and they used the one of these, as a means of effecting the other. What reason have we to suppose, that they have renounced those designs, just when they seem to touch the moment of their highest and fullest accomplishment ? When there is but one country, that remains between France and the empire of the world, then is the moment, when we choose to suppose that all opposition may be withdrawn, and that the ambition of France will stop of its own accord.—It is impossible not to see in these feeble and sickly imaginations, that fatal temper of mind, which leads men to look for help and comfort from any source rather than from their own exertions."

This, my lord, was the language of a real statesman, who had the sagacity to perceive the dangers, into which you had plunged his country, and whose mind, far above all the paltry considerations of popularity and place, revolted at the idea of disquising his sentiments, though the peace-loving rabble stood ready to pour on him a torrent of abuse. This speech which the meek Wilberforce called " madly opposing the wishes of the nation for peace," which the respectable Gillray caricatured as " *a dream*," and which the sprightly Chalmers (safely sheltered from chastisement by a tenfold shield of contempt) styled " *the ravings of despair and of foolishness* ;" this speech, my lord, will remain " as a testimony against you unto the people " and

unto the world, as long, at least, as Buonaparté, or his successor, shall be pleased to suffer a pamphlet in the English language to be read, which may not, perhaps, be many months longer.

And, on this subject too, my lord, where will you and your colleagues look for a justification ? Buonaparté has, if we are to believe the *True Briton*, " insisted upon the alteration of our laws respecting the liberty of the press." And, to say nothing of the tone and terms of the treaty of peace ; has he not had the most direct encouragement to make this demand, not only from the servile language the public prints known to be under the controul of government, but from the declarations of those who supported the peace, particularly of the late Attorney General (now Lord Ellenborough), of Lord Castle-reagh, Mr. Addington, Mr. Pitt, and your lordship ? I have not room, my lord, to insert extracts from the speeches, to which I now allude, but let any one refer to them, and deny, if he can, that the sentiments they contain relative to the manner in which Englishmen should speak of Buonaparté and his government, furnish the strongest possible presumption, that the demand, which has now been made, would be readily complied with. Nor was this demand *unforeseen* or *unforetold* by those who opposed the peace. Lords Spencer, Grenville, Carlisle, Mr. Grenville, Lord Temple, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Windham, and Dr. Laurence, in particular, most strongly and justly reprobated the abject tone, which it was attempted to impose upon the Parliament as well as the press. Every member of Parliament must recollect the language in which the late Attorney General censured Mr. Elliot for daring to doubt of the sincerity and the pacific intentions of Buonaparté ; nor can any one have forgotten the silence of ministers on the affairs of Lundberg and Lauriston. On this topic, my lord, I must beg leave to be indulged with making a short quotation or two from my own publications. By looking over the pages of my Letters on the Peace and of the Political Register, your lordship will find that I and my correspondents have given you, " precept upon precept, precept upon precept ; line upon line, line upon line ; here a little and there a little ; that you might not go and fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken." The danger to the real and useful freedom of speech and of the press was early foreseen, and was thus anticipated :— " The press of Great-Britain and that of America are the last refuge of the

" liberties of the world ; and we may be well assured, that no exertion of stratagem or force will be spared to stifle their inquiries. In America, the accomplishment of this object will be very difficult ; but, however humiliating the acknowledgment, we sincerely believe the difficulty will be less in this kingdom, a belief in which we are persuaded our readers will participate, when they observe the language of those English prints, which are under the influence of the ministry, and when they are informed that silence, with respect to Buonaparté, has already been, by authority, imposed on the *Journal de Peltier*. To suppose, that the liberty of the British press is at last to be destroyed by the person, whom Lord Hawkesbury so lately styled "a Corsican Adventurer ;" to suppose, that we are no longer to find protection in those courts, which have ever been the safe guard of ourselves and the admiration of the world ; to suppose these things possible is, in some sort, to renounce one's nature ; but, so humble, so base, are we become, and such is our propensity to sink, that it is beyond the powers of the mind to conceive the depth of degradation to which we shall finally descend."

—(*Political Register, Vol. I. p. 221, March 6.*)—Again : " If we examine into the means, which France has made use of, in the subjugation of those countries, which are now smarting under her lash, we shall find, that, in every instance, her progress has commenced by the enslaving of the press. The press is a powerful instrument ; she, of all nations, best knows its force, and she, therefore, wisely takes care, that that force shall not be employed against herself. The British press, of all others, she dreads most. Buonaparté is much more afraid of this press than he is of the Pope, or the Goddess of Reason, or even of Mahomet, zealous as he is in the Mussulman faith. He has emitted his venom on all those, in this country, who have ventured to question the moderation of his views and the sincerity of his professions, and has given us no very unintelligible hint, that such disbelief may, ere long, be followed with chastisement. It is in the nature of upstarts to be presuming ; and it cannot be denied, that the experience which Buonaparté has already had of our baseness, is well calculated to encourage his presumption. The gross violation, the open and daring defiance of our laws, committed with impunity by the bearers of the

" preliminary treaty, was, we fear, the beginning of a series of acts, under which the constitution of England is destined to perish."—(*Political Register, Vol. I. p. 317, 318.*)—God, in his mercy, forbid, that these apprehensions should be realized ! but, that they did not spring from that "madness," that "despair and foolishness," which Messrs. Wilberforce and Chalmers ascribed to the opposers of the peace, will now, I think, my lord, be acknowledged by yourself. They were the offspring of a watchful attention to the tone and terms of the treaty, and of an anxious solicitude for the salvation of my country : to that humble and trembling tone, to those disadvantageous and disgraceful terms, to our subsequent acts of servility, to these, and to these alone, my lord, is to be imputed the audacious demand, of which I have here been speaking, and which your lordship will affect to attribute to a *now* hostile and ambitious mind in the Consul.

Having now, my lord, shown, that the affair of Switzerland is a mere pretext for your change of language and conduct, that other causes have produced this change, and that these causes were foreseen and foretold by those who opposed the peace with Buonaparté, I should now proceed to shew, that, though the Consul, aided by the advice of the English faction now at Paris, may find the means of avoiding hostilities for the present, without any relaxation of his authority over us, and though you and your colleagues may, from some compromise with him, take credit for vigour which you do not possess, and upon the strength of that credit make concessions ten times more essentially important, yet that, in a short time, we must have war with France, or must quietly submit to her yoke ; and this would lead me to consider how, in case of a new war, the peace will have changed our position for the worse ; and also how that war is, according to the present appearances, likely to be conducted and likely to terminate.—But this, my lord, is "high matter," and shall therefore be addressed to a high character.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

London, Oct. 14, 1802. Wm. COBBETT.

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#### SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under this head we have many things, which we would wish to notice, but which we must postpone for want of room. Switzerland, which, from the use that our ministers are making of it, is become the prin-

cial object of public attention, has, it would appear, from advices received yesterday, yielded to the mandates of Buonaparté. "The Diet of Schwitz has adopted all the articles of the proclamation of the First Consul of France, the official account of which has just been received by his Aide du Camp, Rapp, and the Helvetic government will return to Berne the day after to-morrow, under the escort of the first Helvetic demi-brigade."—This news is dated at Lausanne on the 13th, and is taken from a Paris paper of the 18th instant. It may be false, or, at least, premature; but, we think there is little doubt, that it expresses what will prove to be the result, and, if so, what becomes of the interposition of our courageous ministers? What becomes of the pretext, under which they hoped to disguise the real ground of that state of hostilities, on which, from far different causes, they are, or will soon be, compelled to enter? Buonaparté will, we think, settle matters in Switzerland in a manner that will leave the English government no just ground of complaint; as to Germany, he will, most likely, make such a concession as will satisfy the Emperor, or, at least, the philosophical counsellors by whom that monarch is surrounded; and, with respect to Malta, we cannot imagine, that the Emperor of Russia, notwithstanding the change which has taken place in his ministry, will attempt to interfere, and thereby forego all the advantages which he at present derives from the friendship of France, merely for us, for us who turned our back on his overtures for obtaining an indemnity for our own faithful ally.—The grand secret of state, in this country, seems, of late years, to have been the finding out false pretexts for every important measure of government, particularly the measures relating to war; and it is really a subject of curious speculation to guess at the ground which ministers will next take, if that which Switzerland offered has already slipped from beneath them.—*Nous verrons!*

According to advices from Ratisbon of the 8th inst. a "supplement" to the plan of indemnities had then been drawn up by the French minister, and had been approved of by the Russian and Prussian ministers. It is stated, that the first plan has, in this new instance of Buonaparté's paternal care, undergone considerable changes, some of which are said to be known, but they are not stat-

ed. The official communication of this supplement, will, it is supposed, by the French papers, "put an end to the numerous claims and complaints, with which the deputation has been tormented for some weeks past." That is to say, it will for ever shut up the mouths of those who have been robbed and insulted by this execrable act of tyranny.

The election of Prince RUSPOLI, to be Grand Master of the Order of Malta, is now, by those very London prints which abused the opposers of the peace, discovered to be contrary to the treaty; and these same prints have also discovered, that it was *impossible to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty respecting Malta.*—So said Lord Grenville, and his lordship founded his assertion upon the facts which are now acknowledged to have existed at the time. He said the order, by the new regulations, was "impoverished in finance, degraded in reputation, and that it must soon sink into a gang of low, needy, and unprincipled adventurers;" and so now says word for word, the public prints which abused his lordship for his observations.—Whether we have a right to hold the island is another question.

We hear nothing further of the embarkation of troops for New Orleans; and, it is not unimportant to observe, that the suspension of this enterprize is rather a corroborating proof of Buonaparté's apprehending hostilities with this country. In that case, to take possession of Louisiana would be highly imprudent, as it would assuredly throw the Americans into our scale; whereas, by abandoning the project of colonizing Louisiana, or by delaying it for some time, France is certain of securing the neutrality, and, perhaps, of purchasing the co-operation, of America, whose present rulers are by no means friendly to England, and whose people of all descriptions, are boiling with indignation at what they term "the malignant and vindictive policy of the British ministers," in putting the French on their back, in order to render them more attached to Great-Britain, but which, in reality, was no policy at all in the British ministers, but merely an argument invented by that solid young man, that "safe politician," Lord Hawkesbury, purely for the purpose of defending his own conduct. The solid young lord never dreamt that his speech would be read across the Atlantic! So much for the "safe politicians."